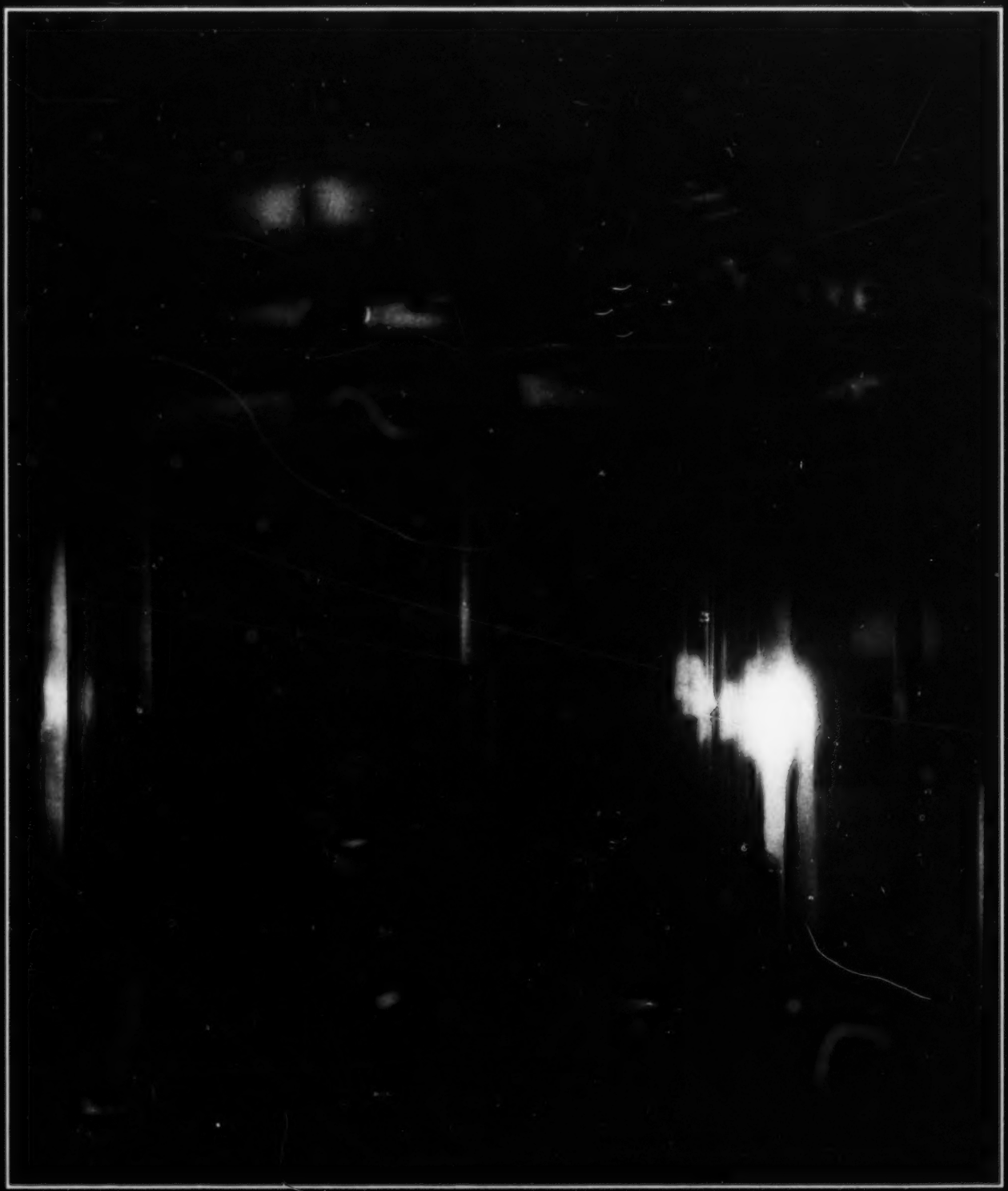
A8680-1A

PHI DELTA

MARCH 1990

KAPPAN



Phi Delta KAPPAN

March 1990 • Volume 71 • Number 7

FEATURES

504 **Getting to Know a Good Middle School: Shoreham-Wading River,** *by Gene I. Maeroff*

512 **A Personal Vision of a Good School,** *by Roland S. Barth*

517 **Reclaiming a Voice: American Curriculum Scholars and the Politics of What Is Taught in Schools,** *by Linda M. McNeil*

518 **More Voices in Babel? Educational Research and the Politics of Curriculum,** *by David Cohen*

523 **Who Decides What Schools Teach?,** *by Elliot W. Eisner*

526 **Is There a Curriculum Voice to Reclaim?,** *by Michael W. Apple*

531 **Navigating the Four C's: Building a Bridge over Troubled Waters,** *by Ann Lieberman*

534 **Getting Unstuck: Curriculum as a Tool of Reform,** *by Anne C. Lewis*

539 **From School-Site Management to Participatory School-Site Management,** *by Sharon C. Conley and Samuel B. Bacharach*

545 **The Rewards and Risks of Shared Leadership,** *by B. J. Meadows*

549 **Experiencing School Reform: The View from South Carolina,** *by Rick Ginsberg and Barnett Berry*

553 **Blue Jays Win! Crows Go Down in Defeat!,** *by Marjorie A. Wuthrick*

556 **Too Bright to Be a Teacher Educator,** *by Chris Eisele*

DEPARTMENTS

499 **THE EDITOR'S PAGE,** Heave Ho

500 **WASHINGTON COMMENTARY,** *by Anne C. Lewis*

502 **STATELINE,** *by Chris Pipho*

541 **PASSING THOUGHTS,** *by Jim Sutton*

559 **RESEARCH,** *by Gerald W. Bracey*

563 **DE JURE,** In Loco Parentis, *by Perry A. Zirkel*

566 **IN EUROPE,** An Open Market in Universities?, *by Michael G. Bruce*

568 **PROTOTYPES,** You Can't Afford Not to Read Aloud, *by Joan Jennings*

572 **BACKTALK**

Cover Illustration: Bruce Stoll

Heave Ho

WE'VE TRIED the easy things in school reform – more academic coursework, more tests for students, more tests for teachers . . . you know the litany. And the outcomes have been disappointing by any reckoning.

Now we seem to be reduced to just two options. We can yield to despair over the intractable problems of schooling in the U.S. Or we can bite the bullet and get started on the more difficult tasks of school reform – the ones that require us to adopt new roles and new ways of doing things.

The pieces of the puzzle of productive school reform are gradually falling into place. Just since the beginning of the new decade, the *Kappan* has published several articles that help to point the way.

In the January issue, Albert Shanker and Joseph Carroll shared with readers their visions of restructured schools. In the February *Kappan*, William Glasser suggested ways to help students *want* to do high-quality schoolwork, and a group of researchers from Johns Hopkins University laid out for readers the characteristics of effective schooling for early adolescents.

This month, Gene Maeroff provides a close look at an exemplary middle school, Sharon Conley and Samuel Bacharach tell readers how to go about implementing school-site management, and B. J. Meadows provides a first-person account of the pitfalls and promises of shared decision making. Also in this issue, Roland Barth pushes each of us to articulate a personal vision of a good school.

We need such visions more than ever today, because the reforms now facing us won't be accomplished at the stroke of a governor's pen. They require new modes of operating, greater personal flexibility, and more extensive cooperation across the entire profession. That means no more finger-pointing at bureaucratic central administrators, no more finger-pointing at wishy-washy principals, and no more finger-pointing at uncompromising teacher unions.

It's time to demonstrate unequivocally that we're all in this together, spurred on by a single aim: to make American education the very best that it can be. Whether the educational enterprise will survive the crushing criticisms of the late-20th-century will depend on our *united* efforts. We still may not be able to solve every problem visited on the schools by our changing society. But, until we work together to explore every conceivable option, we can't be held blameless for the failures of American education.

Moreover, the most effective approaches to school reform will differ, according to local circumstances. So we must seek out solutions building by building and district by district. That's why we need both personal visions of good schools and the courage to share them with one another in order to bring them to fruition.

Sometimes the task of improving the schools seems akin to moving a stubborn elephant. The easy response is to shrug our shoulders and spew a stream of excuses. The more difficult (and far more productive) response is to put our shoulders to the beast and shove. All of us. Together. – PBG

KAPPAN STAFF

PAULINE B. GOUGH, Editor
BRUCE M. SMITH, Managing Editor
RISÉ WILLIAMSON, Assistant Editor
CAROL BUCHERI, Design/Production Director, Advertising/Circulation Manager
STANLEY M. ELAM, Contributing Editor
VICTORIA VOELKER, Designer
TERRI HAMPTON, Permissions
SHEILA WAY and DEBBIE WEBB, Compositors

PHI DELTA KAPPAN USPS 429-840

(ISSN 0031-7217) Published monthly, except July and August, by Phi Delta Kappa, Inc., Eighth & Union, P.O. Box 789, Bloomington, IN 47402. Subscription rate, $30 per year, domestic; $32.50 per year, foreign. Single copies $3.50 each; remit with order. Indexed in *Education Index* and in *Current Index to Journals in Education*; available on microfilm, University Microfilms, Inc., Ann Arbor, Mich. Second-class postage paid at Bloomington, Ind., and at additional mailing offices. *Postmaster:* Send address changes to *Phi Delta Kappan*, P.O. Box 789, Bloomington, IN 47402. Copyright 1990 by Phi Delta Kappa, Inc.

HEADQUARTERS STAFF

LOWELL C. ROSE, Executive Director; DON L. PARK, Associate Executive Director/Program; LARRY W. BARBER, Director, Center on Evaluation, Development, and Research (CEDR); DEREK L. BURLESON, Editor of Special Publications; HOWARD D. HILL, Director of Chapter Programs; ROBERT E. McDANIEL, Director of Administrative Services; NEVILLE L. ROBERTSON, Director, Center for Dissemination of Innovative Programs; JACK FRYMIER, Senior Fellow; WILMER K. BUGHER, Director of Special Projects; VLADIMIR BEKTESH, Media Specialist; SHARI BRADLEY, Marketing and Training Coordinator; WILLARD DUCKETT, Assistant Director, CEDR; PHILLIP HARRIS, Director, Center for Professional Development; MONICA OVERMAN, Research Assistant, CEDR; DUANE B. RICHARDS, Professional Development Specialist; DAVID M. RUETSCHLIN, Staff Associate, Special Publications; DEBORAH BURNETT STROTHER, CEDR Editor; SANDRA WEITH, Administrative Assistant, Administration; TERRY L. WIEDMER, Assistant for Membership/Public Information.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

CAROL O'CONNELL, President; Education Consultant, 7523 Elin Ct., Dayton, OH 45415.
JACK KOSOY, President Elect; Admin., Adult Educ., L.A. Unified School Dist., 16539 Bircher St., Granada Hills, CA 91344.
JOHN V. ROWLEY, Past President; Principal, Mt. Pleasant Middle School, Livingston, NJ 07039.
ROGER W. ANDERSON, Vice President; Professor of Education, Ret., Luther College, Decorah, IA 52101.
DOUGLAS BEDIENT, Vice President; Director, Learning Resources Service, Southern Illinois Univ. at Carbondale, Carbondale, IL 62901.
SHIRLEY N. ROBARDS, Vice President; Director of Student Teaching, Univ. of Tulsa, Tulsa, OK 74104.
DONALD H. DUNCAN, Director, Dist. I; Professor of Special Educ., Western Oregon State College, Monmouth, OR 97361.
ROBERT L. MAULLER, Director, Dist. II; L.A. Unified School Dist. Admin., Ret., 550 Allendale Rd., Pasadena, CA 91106.
J. ELDON YUNG, Director, Dist. III; Professor of Graphics, Central Missouri State Univ., Warrensburg, MO 64093.
RICHARD L. KOLOWSKI, Director, Dist. IV; Director of Secondary Curriculum, Millard Public Schools, 5606 S. 147 St., Omaha, NE 68137.
SONJA-LOU CLARY, Director, Dist. V; Associate Dean and Director of Academic Planning, Accreditation, and Evaluation, National College of Education, 2840 N. Sheridan Rd., Evanston, IL 60201.
JAMES V. FOGARTY, JR., Director, Dist. VI; Director, Special Educ., BOCES 2, Suffolk County, NY 11720.
GEORGE M. THOMAS, Director, Dist. VII; Associate Professor, Mississippi State Univ., 5520 Highway 19 North, Meridian, MS 39307.
GEORGE KERSEY, JR., Director, Dist. VIII; Principal, Carter-Lawrence Middle School, Nashville, TN 37203.

EDITORIAL CONSULTANTS

TERREL H. BELL, Professor Emeritus of Educational Administration, Univ. of Utah, Salt Lake City.
JOMILLS H. BRADDOCK II, Director, Center for Research on Effective Schooling for Disadvantaged Students, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore.
LARRY CUBAN, Professor and Assoc. Dean, School of Education, Stanford Univ., Stanford, Calif.
DENIS DOYLE, Senior Research Fellow, Hudson Institute, Alexandria, Va.
MARY HATWOOD FUTRELL, Senior Fellow and Assoc. Director of the George Washington Univ. Center for the Study of Education and National Development, Washington, D.C.
MARTIN HABERMAN, Professor, Univ. of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.
ANN LIEBERMAN, Professor, Univ. of Washington, Seattle.
JEROME T. MURPHY, Professor of Education and Assoc. Dean of the Graduate School of Education, Harvard Univ., Cambridge, Mass.
JOSEPH H. NATHAN, Senior Fellow, Hubert H. Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs, Univ. of Minnesota, Minneapolis.
JOHN V. ROWLEY, Past President, PDK.

Reprints of articles appearing in the *Kappan* may be obtained from the business office: 1-2 pp., $8; 3-4 pp., $13; 5-6 pp., $19; and 7-8 pp., $25 for 100 copies. On larger orders, write for price schedule. Please remit with order. Address all purchase orders and address changes to Director of Administrative Services. Allow six weeks for processing address changes. Address all editorial correspondence to *Phi Delta Kappan*, P.O. Box 789, Bloomington, IN 47402. Ph. 812/339-1156. Please include postpaid, self-addressed envelope.

The *Phi Delta Kappan* publishes articles concerned with educational research, service, and leadership; issues, trends, and policy are emphasized. Views expressed do not necessarily agree with positions taken by Phi Delta Kappa, the professional fraternity in education.

Experiencing School Reform: The View from South Carolina

What is it like to be an educator in a state in which reform mania pervades the organizational culture of schools? Messrs. Ginsberg and Berry tell Kappan *readers.*

BY RICK GINSBERG
AND BARNETT BERRY

A RISING TIDE of school reform swept over America in the 1980s, leaving in its wake at least some legislation geared to improving schools in nearly every state. One of the most reform-minded states has been South Carolina, whose major education reform legislation, the Education Improvement Act (EIA) of 1984, has been favorably reviewed by several writers.[1] Thomas Timar and David Kirp established the school reform experience in South Carolina as an ideal, because it "demonstrates the need for balance between state accountability and local autonomy . . . [and] it shows that authority and responsibility must be distributed across the entire system of education."[2] Indeed, South Carolina's own analysis of the effects of the EIA indicates that there have been gains in a number of areas, including improved achievement test scores; better services for preschool, remedial, gifted and talented, and vocational students; and higher salaries for teachers.[3]

RICK GINSBERG is an associate professor in the Department of Educational Leadership and Policies at the University of South Carolina, Columbia, where BARNETT BERRY (University of South Carolina Chapter) is associate director of the South Carolina Educational Policy Center.

Illustration by Thomas Rhea

However, a thorough analysis of the impact of reform must go beyond merely listing new structural components in a school system or cataloguing increases in teacher salaries or in student test scores. Reform must also strive to affect the organizational culture of the schools in a positive way. As Timar and Kirp suggest, "Policy makers must focus their attention on making schools better places in which to work and generally more satisfying places for those who are associated with them."[4] We believe that ignoring the cultural perspectives associated with reform is shortsighted because problems in the organizational culture of schools can cripple teaching and learning in the long run – despite any short-term gains brought about by specific reforms. With this in mind, we raise the question, What is it like to be an educator in a state in which reform mania pervades the organizational culture of schools?

We can begin to answer this question by describing the impact of reform on educators in South Carolina. The recently released Carnegie study, *Report Card on Reform*, indicated that teachers throughout America are frustrated with much of the reform effort.[5] Concerning South Carolina, the Carnegie study was relatively positive: 40% of South Carolina teachers reported that teacher morale had improved – the highest figure in the nation. Nonetheless, a still higher percentage of South Carolina teachers (43%) indicated that morale had *declined* as a result of reform. While South Carolina has much to be proud of for its efforts to improve schools, we must conclude that many teachers and principals feel over-

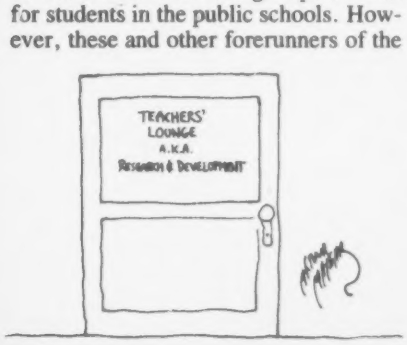
While surveys show that South Carolina educators support the *idea* of reform, many find its *implementation* troubling.

whelmed by the sheer volume of the mandates created by the EIA. Despite their support for the reform initiatives, these educators are crying out for changes in education policies.

THE EDUCATION IMPROVEMENT ACT

The passage of the EIA in South Carolina in 1984 was an amazing political feat for then Gov. Richard Riley, who pulled together a disparate array of groups to support the measure, which required the approval of a 25% increase in the state sales tax. The governor and his staff made education reform their key legislative initiative. And despite the conservative political culture of South Carolina, they were able to infuse more than 200 million new dollars into the state budget for education.

School reform, though not on as grand a scale, had actually started years earlier in South Carolina. The Educational Finance Act of 1977 moved to equalize spending among the state's 92 school districts. The Basic Skills Assessment Act of 1978 mandated testing requirements for students in the public schools. However, these and other forerunners of the EIA pale in comparison to that omnibus reform bill.



The EIA had seven main components that affected the operation of schools, each with several specific subparts: 1) raising student performance by increasing academic standards; 2) strengthening the teaching and testing of basic skills; 3) elevating the teaching profession by strengthening the training, evaluation, and compensation of teachers; 4) improving the leadership, management, and fiscal efficiency of schools at all levels; 5) implementing strict quality controls and rewarding productivity; 6) creating more effective partnerships among schools, parents, communities, and businesspeople; and 7) providing school buildings conducive to student learning.

The EIA gave a great deal of authority for developing programs to the state board of education and the state department of education. It directed that committees be established to create a variety of pilot programs for testing in the schools. In several instances, the law was clearly prescriptive. For example, the very first subpart of the EIA legislation mandates that "diplomas issued to graduates of accredited high schools within this State must be uniform in every respect and particularly as to color, size, lettering, and marking." The state board was directed, among other things, to establish minimum standards of conduct and behavior for pupils, regulations governing student absences, criteria for the promotion of students, provisions for compensatory and remedial instruction for students, and criteria and minimum statewide performance standards for evaluating school principals. The state department was to prepare an exit exam that all students would have to pass prior to graduation. The state superintendent was authorized to intervene in school districts that failed to meet minimum criteria. For these and other parts of the EIA, great responsibility was obviously concentrated at the state level.

In other areas, however, the law seemed to provide latitude for local school districts. Districts had some leeway in the design of vocational programs and programs for the gifted and talented. Teachers and schools were given some choice in selecting the specific incentive program under which they would operate. Similarly, inservice training programs related to the effective schools research were mandated for teachers in each district, but the state department allowed districts some choice among available programs. Although teachers were to be observed at least three times in order to be evaluated, no specific evaluation instrument was specified for teachers under continuing contract. And when the state board set up committees to create new programs in various areas, personnel from local districts were often included in the planning.

However, despite the evidence of latitude for educators, many perceived the spirit of the reforms as too prescriptive. This point has been recognized by the state's leading policy makers, including Gov. Carroll Campbell and State Superintendent of Education Charles Williams, both of whom have called for a loosening of state regulations for certain districts.

EDUCATORS' VIEWS OF REFORM

A number of studies and evaluations of various components of the EIA have been conducted. For example, evaluations of the incentive programs for teachers and principals gave educators the opportunity to react to pilot programs before they were fully implemented. The majority of teachers surveyed regarding the Teacher Incentive Program claimed that the program did not encourage improved teaching techniques, that it encouraged unhealthy and distasteful competition among teachers, and that it did not fit their concept of "superior teaching."[6] Similarly, the majority of principals surveyed regarding the Principal Incentive Program claimed that the program was inappropriate for selecting and rewarding top principals, was too time-consuming, and included too many variables over which they had little control.[7] But such dissatisfaction did not lead to major changes when the programs were fully implemented.

While surveys show that South Carolina educators support the *idea* of reform, its *implementation* is troubling to many of them. Simply put, South Carolina educators find that much of the reform movement has created excessive demands on their time, while the benefits of many of the prescriptive requirements they face are not clear. To determine South Carolina educators' key concerns about school reform, the South Carolina Educational Policy Center authorized two studies.

The first study, an evaluation of the state's Principal Evaluation Program, focused exclusively on administrators.[8]

We found solid support for the concept of evaluating principals among the principals, evaluators, superintendents, and heads of school boards in the 14 pilot districts. Yet principals and evaluators raised significant questions about the program – especially about its ability to measure performance and its potential impact on their capacity to perform their jobs properly. This program mandates that all principals perform satisfactorily on 24 performance standards devised by the state. Principals must compile a portfolio of evidence to document their performance.

The principals we surveyed suggested that many of the performance statements were difficult to document (e.g., managing conflict and displaying sensitivity). They were very concerned about the time required to compile their portfolios, they felt that the program missed the point of their work and could easily be fudged, and they thought that the process made it extremely difficult to separate out various levels of performance.

To the state's credit, the Principal Evaluation Program has been slightly altered. Today, principals must be evaluated only once every three years rather than once a year. This change certainly reduces the amount of time required to document performance. But the inherent problems with the program remain unaddressed, and discussions with principals suggest that they are still quite dissatisfied with it. One reason for the principals' dissatisfaction is that they are trained to pay attention to situational and contingent factors, while the state program uses an evaluation system that takes no account of context in evaluating principals' performance on preset criteria.

The second study focused on the working conditions of teachers, on teacher burnout, and on the impact of reform in South Carolina.[9] Survey data on these topics from more than 4,000 teachers and interview data from more than 100 others were not encouraging for proponents of the reforms.

The teacher study examined a number of issues raised in the Carnegie study, *Report Card on School Reform*. After surveying teachers from all 50 states about their feelings toward various aspects of school reform, the Carnegie study concluded rather pessimistically, "We are troubled that the nation's teachers remain so skeptical. Why is it that teachers, of all people, are demoralized and largely unimpressed by the reform actions taken?"[10]

The findings of the South Carolina teacher study were even more discouraging than those presented in the Carnegie report. Table 1 shows findings from the South Carolina study on selected questions that were also asked in the Carnegie study.

TABLE 1.
South Carolina Teachers' Views Concerning The Impact of Reforms on Their Working Conditions

	Worse %	No Change %	Better %
Burden of paperwork	84.9	9.5	5.6
Freedom from nonteaching duties	51.3	33.7	15.0
Time to meet with other teachers	47.9	37.3	14.8
Creative freedom in the classroom	39.4	32.2	28.4

There were several areas in which South Carolina teachers did report improvements as a result of the reform effort (e.g., inservice education, leadership of principals), but the large majority of responses suggest that teachers in South Carolina are discontented with many aspects of the reforms. Indeed, while the Carnegie study found that 49% of teachers believe that morale is worse as a result of reform, the corresponding figure for South Carolina was 60.3%. Moreover, these data – which represent a much larger sample of South Carolina teachers than was polled in the Carnegie study – are significantly more negative than the data from South Carolina teachers surveyed by the Carnegie group.

Other responses from the South Carolina study are equally disturbing. Using questions from the Role Conflict/Role Ambiguity Questionnaire,[11] we found that nearly 70% of South Carolina teachers said that, as a result of the reforms, they must handle certain things differently from the way they believe these things should be handled; about 68% said that they have to work on unnecessary tasks; and nearly 49% reported that they work with two or more groups that operate quite differently. Interestingly, the teachers reported no problems with role ambiguity. For example, nearly 80% said that they know exactly what their responsibilities are. While being clear about one's role is a good thing, the positive responses in this area probably relate to the highly prescriptive nature of many of the reforms in South Carolina: teachers are being told what to do and how to do it.

Part of our research effort was geared to studying burnout among teachers. We used the Maslach Burnout Inventory (MBI), a copyrighted and highly respected instrument widely used with those in helping professions.[12] The MBI has three subscales related to the burnout syndrome. A burned-out individual has high levels of depersonalization (unfeeling responses toward recipients of one's service), low levels of personal accomplishment (feelings of competence and achievement), and high levels of emotional exhaustion (feelings of being overextended and exhausted by work). South Carolina teachers reported average feelings of depersonalization and personal accomplishment. They still have positive feelings about their students, and they still possess some sense of work-related efficacy. In terms of emotional exhaustion, however, the teachers' responses were alarming.

The MBI norms on the emotional exhaustion subscale indicate that a score of 21.25 for teachers is average. The South Carolina teachers' average score was 30.13, about 50% higher than the national average. By combining response categories on the MBI, a simple picture of how South Carolina teachers feel about their work can be drawn. More than 81% of the teachers often feel used up at the end of the day; more than 71% often feel emotionally drained by their work; nearly 60% often feel that they work too hard on the job; and nearly 58% often feel fatigued when they get up in the morning and must face another day on the job[13].

These reported feelings of emotional exhaustion spanned almost every demographic category. High emotional exhaustion scores (27 or above on the MBI) were found for teachers of both sexes – from all types of schools, all locales, all school sizes, all levels of educational training (except those with *less* than a bachelor's degree), and all areas of teaching. Scores for black teachers, for the

very youngest teachers, and for the very oldest teachers were slightly below the level characterized by the MBI as high. But the overall picture is one of a very tired teaching force.

We probed teachers' feelings about working conditions and burnout even further in individual interviews. The teachers seem devastated by the impact of curriculum mandates, testing, paperwork, and evaluation – all artifacts of South Carolina's education reform legislation. "We teach to the test now, but there are so many things we are leaving out," said one teacher. "It seems like we don't care about children anymore," another offered. "We just want passing scores. . . . The tests make a lot of teachers lie." A third teacher said, "I am being made into a machine, and my students are being made into machines. I guess I went to college to become a file clerk. Sometimes I know I am pushing things down their throats, just like pumping gasoline."

Obviously, a great deal of frustration exists among South Carolina teachers. One can only guess how much longer they will be able to cope with all these demands before students are affected negatively by the state's stressed-out teacher work force. We did ask teachers to speculate on how long they planned to stay in the profession. Of the more than 4,000 surveyed, 27.2% said that they planned to leave teaching prior to retirement. We find that large percentage very troubling.

UNDERSTANDING the impact of reform on educators is of central importance in judging the merits of a reform package. South Carolina has made a great deal of progress in certain areas as a result of its reform movement. But the negative feelings reported by teachers and principals are a disturbing outcome of education reform. Most recently, improvements in such indicators as test scores have begun to level off in South Carolina. Could it be that the initial momentum of the reform movement is beginning to run down? Could teachers' feelings of frustration be starting to take their toll?

Given our findings about teachers' and principals' perceptions of various aspects of school reform, we agree with Timar and Kirp that several key questions concerning the overall impact of the reform movement must be answered. Specifically, Timar and Kirp suggest three questions that are important for policy makers and educators to ask in evaluating reform: What differences have the reforms made in the daily operation of schools? Are schools more competent organizationally than they were five years ago? What have we learned from five years of intensive reform activity?

The negative feelings reported by teachers and principals are a disturbing outcome of education reform.

What differences have the reforms made in the daily operation of schools? South Carolina schools are probably more "on task" today than ever before, and great efforts have been made to improve student performance. But the teachers are tired and frustrated, and they feel that much of the joy of teaching is gone. Principals report similar feelings. The reforms have made schools in South Carolina much more rigid and demanding places in which to work.

Have reforms made schools more competent organizationally than they were five years ago? The answer here is probably yes and no. In some ways schools are more competent. But the price that has been paid appears to be rather high. The value of many of the reforms must be questioned; we must weigh the costs against the benefits. Do we really want exhausted teachers in our schools? Can emotionally exhausted teachers and principals provide the energy, wisdom, and spirit needed to continue with the reforms and develop organizationally mature schools? Is the organizational culture that exists in South Carolina schools today really what we want for our teachers and principals? We think some effort to deal with teachers' and principals' concerns about working conditions is essential.

What have we learned from five years of reform activity? In South Carolina, we have learned that great interest and a good deal of money can make a difference. But we have also learned that we should begin to listen to the teachers and principals, those closest to the students. Certainly, if the situation in South Carolina goes unresolved, if the pleas of teachers and principals are ignored, then the early gains may ultimately be lost.

Analyzing school reform is a tricky business. There is so much difference from one state to the next that comparisons are dicey. South Carolina has taken up school reform with a vengeance, and in many respects reform has been good for the schools. But some attention must now be paid to the key issues being raised by educators. To ignore the reality faced every day by principals, teachers, and students does them all a great disservice. If what is happening in South Carolina is happening elsewhere, then education policy makers across the country should heed the advice of those in their employ and turn their attention to improving the culture and working conditions that school reform has created.

1. See, for example, William Chance, *The Best of Education: Reforming America's Public Schools in the 1980s* (Chicago: John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, 1986); and Deborah Inman, "The Financial Impact of Educational Reform," paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Washington, D.C., 1987.
2. Thomas B. Timar and David L. Kirp, "Education Reform in the 1980s: Lessons from the States," *Phi Delta Kappan*, March 1989, pp. 509-10.
3. *What Is the Penny Buying for South Carolina?* (Columbia: South Carolina State Board of Education, 1988).
4. Timar and Kirp, p. 510.
5. *Report Card on School Reform: The Teachers Speak* (Princeton, N.J.: Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1988).
6. *An Evaluation of the South Carolina Teacher Incentive Program, 1986-1987 Pilot Test Implementation* (Tallahassee: MGT of America, 1987).
7. *An Evaluation of the South Carolina Principal Incentive Program* (Tallahassee: MGT of America, 1987).
8. Barnett Berry and Rick Ginsberg, *Principal Evaluation Program: An Evaluation Study* (Columbia: South Carolina Educational Policy Center, 1987).
9. Rick Ginsberg et al., *Teaching in South Carolina: A Retirement Initiative* (Columbia: South Carolina Educational Policy Center, 1989).
10. *Report Card on School Reform*, p. 10.
11. John R. Rizzo, Robert J. House, and Sidney I. Lirtzman, "Role Conflict and Ambiguity in Complex Organizations," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, vol. 15, 1970, pp. 150-64.
12. Christina Maslach and Susan E. Jackson, *Maslach Burnout Inventory Manual* (Palo Alto, Calif.: Consulting Psychologists Press, 1986).
13. Data are derived from Ginsberg et al., pp. 57-62.